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that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhajan won, and when the Ghomaran arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja	*Ghomara*
Mazuza of Galiya	Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya	Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Metalsa	Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya
Gaennaya	Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Urriaghel	Beni Said
Beni Bu Frah	Beni Tusin
Mestasa	Beni Ulishk
	Tafersit
	Beni Amart
	Bokoya
	Targuist
	Beni Itteft
	Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gaennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Wergha here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka* [1] of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallised and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

[1] See p. 157.

[p.576(B)]

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Choosing a fat goat for supper, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Broiling goat-meat *kebabs* over a brazier

Eating the *kebabs*

Chopping up *kif*, Tiguisas, Ghomara

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262 234 being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape 273 jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a [251] relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276 *kif*, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghsuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

264 574 **Riffian Table Manners.** When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86-88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 154, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 433, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 567 n., 570, 601.

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host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible. 264 574

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs. 264 [515] [415]

776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun
● haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for
514 food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are
753 Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic
372 l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheïna], almssi [Ait Sadden],
513 tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Waraïn], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining
372 makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they [264] do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
593 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of
● each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] [369] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 785 472 443 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 785 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.